

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 CAIRO 07263 241456Z

44

ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 NEAE-00 SAB-01 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01 EB-07 TRSE-00

ACDA-05 COME-00 LAB-04 SIL-01 /097 W

----- 051882

P R 241400Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5367

INFO AMEMBASSY

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L CAIRO 7263

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, EG

SUBJECT: SADAT'S JULY 22 ADDRESS: FURTHER THOUGHTS

REF: CAIRO 7223 AND 7222

FOLLOWING SUPPLEMENTS PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF  
SADAT'S JULY 22 ADDRESS SENT CAIRO'S 7223. SPEECH SHOULD  
BE VIEWED IN CONTEXT FORUM AND OCCASION ON WHICH IT  
WAS DELIVERED AS WELL AS PUBLIC RESTIVENESS WHICH PRESIDENT  
WAS PRESUMABLY ATTEMPTING ASSUAGE. FORUM WAS ASU  
SESSION DEVOTED TO REVAMPING THAT ORGANIZATION. OC-  
CATION WAS EVE OF 23RD ANNICERSARY OF 1952  
REVOLUTION, AT WHICH LATTER'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS MIGHT  
BE EXPECTED TO BE RECOUNTED. THERE HAVE BEEN INCREASING  
SIGNS OF PUBLIC RESTIVENESS IN RECENT MONTHS AS RESULT  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 CAIRO 07263 241456Z

OF ECONOMIC HARDSHIPS AND LACK OF PROGRESS ON ARAB-ISRAELI

FRONT. SKEPTICS OF FIRST DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT, WHO HAVE LONG REMAINED SILENT, ARE NOW SAYING THEY KNEW THIS WOULD HAPPEN. IN GENERAL TERMS AT LEAST, IF NOT IN DETAIL, WE MUST ASSUME SADAT IS AWARE OF THIS.

AS IS CUSTOMARY WITH HIS SPEECHES, PLANNING FOR THE JULY 22 ADDRESS STARTED SOME WEEKS AGO. SENIOR EGYPTIAN OFFICIALS HAVE TOLD US THAT SADAT'S PLANS FOR MAJOR OVERHAUL OF ASU AND EGYPTIAN BUREAUCRACY ARE DEPENDENT UPON PROGRESS OF ARAB-ISRAELI SETTLEMENT. LATTER IS NECESSARY FOR SADAT TO TACKLE SUCH SENSITIVE ISSUES. PREDICTABLY, THEREFORE, THERE WAS KEEN EGYPTIAN INTEREST IN WEEKS BEFORE THE SPEECH TO HAVE A DEFINITIVE READING ON PROSPECTS FOR A NEW INTERIM AGREEMENT. AS DATE FOR SPEECH APPROACHED WITHOUT ANY SUCH CLEAR IDEA, SADAT AND HIS SPEECH WRITERS WERE LEFT SOMEWHAT ADRIFT. THERE WAS INADEQUATE TIME TO WEIGHT PROSPECTS, HENCE SPEECH WAS CONSPICUOUS BY ITS SILENCE ON THE SUBJECT. TO BE SURE, SADAT TOOK QUESTIONS FROM THE FLOOR AT JULY 23 ASU NATIONAL CONFERENCE AND GAVE GENERALLY FACTUAL REPLIES TO QUERIES RE WHAT AGREEMENTS REACHED AT SALZBURG, STATUS OF NEGOTIATIONS, ETC POINT IS, HOWEVER, THAT FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS SADAT'S JULY 22 SPEECH WAS ATYPICALLY DEVOID OF FOREIGN POLICY SUBSTANCE.

INSTEAD, SADAT DEVOTED BULK OF HIS SPEECH TO DOMESTIC MATTERS. ADDRESSING HIMSELF TO HIS MOST VOCAL CRITICS, I.E. YOUTH, NASSERISTS AND PUBLIC SECTOR EMPLOYEES, THE PRESIDENT GAVE LENGTHY PHILOSOPHICAL EXPOSITION OF EGYPTIAN REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION, DEPICTING IT IN TERMS OF RECURRENT EFFORTS TO PERMIT "NATIONAL WILL" TO ASSERT ITSELF. STRESSING HIS CLOSE PERSONAL ASSOCIATION WITH NASSER, SADAT ACCEPTED PART RESPONSIBILITY FOR SOME OF ABBERRATIONS PERPETRATED DURING NASSER REGIME, BUT WITH APOLOGIA THAT SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE TIME REQUIRED SUCH MEASURES. HIS CORRECTIVE REVOLUTION, HE EXPLAINED, IS PART OF THE REVOLUTIONARY CONTINUUM MADE POSSIBLE BY CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES. THUS, THE "REVOLUTIONARY LEGITIMACY" CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 CAIRO 07263 241456Z

COULD EVOLVE INTO "CONSTITUTIONAL LEGITIMACY". GREATER FREEDOM AND DEMOCRATICIZATION WILL RESULT IN CONTEXT OF EGYPT'S SOCIALISM.

ALTHOUGH RECALLING STIRRING HISTORICAL EVENTS, SADAT, UNLIKE HIS PREDECESSOR, KEPT HIS RHETORIC MODERATE AND CALM. HE MADE NO ATTEMPT TO EXCITE HIS AUDIENCE BY MEANINGLESS EMOTIVE VERBAL GYRATIONS.

CLEARLY MINDFUL OF THE PREVAILING MISGIVINGS IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR ABOUT THE IMPLICATIONS OF SADAT'S OPEN DOOR POLICY, THE PRESIDENT STRESSED PUBLIC SECTOR REMAINS THE BASIS OF EGYPT'S ECONOMIC SYSTEM. IN THIS CONTEXT, HOWEVER, HE CONTENDED PRIVATE SECTOR CAN BE ENCOURAGED WITHOUT DANGER OF MAKING EGYPT DEPENDENT UPON FOREIGNERS. HE REITERATED THIS THEME IN JULY 23 QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS, AND IT WAS LEFT FOR PRIMIN MAMDUH SALEM TO HINT THAT CORRECTIVE MEASURES MIGHT HAVE TO BE TAKEN AGAINST NON-EFFICIENT PUBLIC SECTOR FIRMS.

IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS THE SPEECH WAS ANTICLIMATIC. HE ANNOUNCED UNSC PRESIDENT'S APPEAL TO RENEW UNEF HAD BEEN RECEIVED AT DAWN SAME DAY AND WOULD BE CONSIDERED BY NSC. HE STRESSED EGYPT'S DESIRE FOR PEACE, BUT LEFT OPEN OPTION OF GOING TO WAR IF EGYPT'S INTEREST BETTER SERVED BY SUCH COURSE. SOVIETS GOT OFF FOR MORE LIGHTLY THAN USUAL, PERHAPS BECAUSE MINFINANCE ABU ISMAIL CURRENTLY IN MOSCOW TO DISCUSS DEBT RESCHEDULING. IN ARAB MATTERS, HE REMINDED HIS HEARERS -- NOT ONLY AT HOME, BUT ABROAD THAT EGYPT IS "ELDER BROTHER" OF ARAB NATION AND SHARES COMMON POLITICAL AND CULTURAL HERITAGE WITH ARAB STATES. QADHAFI, THOUGH NEVER MENTIONED BY NAME, RECEIVED OBLIQUE BRICKBATS, WHICH WERE MADE MORE SPECIFIC DURING SADAT'S JULY 23 QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION.

FOR MANY EGYPTIANS, THE SPEECH WAS NOTABLE FOR WHAT IT OMITTED. DOMESTICALLY SADAT ANNOUNCED NO RPT NO ECONOMIC ACTION PROGRAM, DESPITE GROWING PUBLIC SOCIAL-ECONOMIC RESTIVENESS. NOR DID HE OFFER ANYTHING TO LABORERS AND FARMERS, WHO HAVE BORNE GREATEST HARDSHIPS. VIRTUAL SILENCE FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 CAIRO 07263 241456Z

ALREADY NOTED, THOUGH A KNOWLEDGEABLE EGYPTIAN JOURNALIST TELLS US GOE SOURCES ARE HINTING THAT PRESIDENT'S JULY 25 SPEECH TO ASU MAY CONTAIN MORE SUBSTANCE ON THIS SCORE.

ESSENTIALLY, THEN, THE PRESIDENT ENDEAVORED TO INSTILL A SENSE OF HISTORY AND INDIRECTLY APPEALED FOR PATIENCE BY RECORDING NOT ONLY HOW FAR HIS ADMINISTRATION HAS GONE IN RESTORING POLITICAL FREEDOMS, BUT ALSO BY AFFIRMING INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS REMAIN DEEP CONCERN OF THE STATE. WE BELIEVE SADAT'S REMARKS REFLECT HIS OWN DEEPLY FELT HISTORIC SENSE AND HIS PERSONAL PRIDE THAT HE HAS GIVEN REAL MEANING TO THE REVOLUTION. AS A POLICY SPEECH IT WAS PALLID AND CONTAINED LESS SUBSTANCE THAN ANY POST WAR ADDRESS HE HAS MADE. WE

CONCLUDE IT WAS LARGELY A HOLDING OPERATION.  
EILTS

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** FOREIGN RELATIONS, SPEECHES, INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 24 JUL 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975CAIRO07263  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750255-0701  
**From:** CAIRO  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750723/aaaaauei.tel  
**Line Count:** 171  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION NEA  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 75 CAIRO 7223, 75 CAIRO 7222  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 07 APR 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <07 APR 2003 by Izenbel0>; APPROVED <09 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
06 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** SADAT'S JULY 22 ADDRESS: FURTHER THOUGHTS  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PINT, EG, (SADAT, ANWAR)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006